Reference material for Swinburne (2024): Expressive meanings and social applications of 'do'-support questions in Camuno (PragDo)

DS vs nDS free interpretation phase

Most of the meanings described here come from the earlier phase of the research, and are referred to as the 'free-interpretation' question meanings. For these the native-speaker informant was given a simple question in Italian, together with a general context under which it might be uttered. They translated the question into their Camuno dialect, producing the two variants, if both were possible. They were then simply asked what each variant 'meant' to them, and when they would use it. (It should be noted that many speakers perceived no difference, or perceived it only with certain contexts. Only a few had a conscious metalinguistic understanding of their use of the form.)

Participants were mostly born between the years 1929-1962 (so were 55-92 years old at the time of the research), and ranged in educational level from those who left school at 11, to those with a university education. Time spent in school did not seem to influence the speaker's ability to explain what they meant (provided they were approached in this way); and, as Camuno is a natural dialect and so not taught in school, it has no prescriptive rules which could influence the responses. The high degree of similarity in the explanations between these cognitively different people, who come from all corners of the valley and represent different dialectal varieties, is striking. It is one line of evidence used to infer that this optional, lexical DS is one incompletely grammaticalized form, rather than being separate instances of degrammaticalization of obligatory DS.

The advantage of the free-interpretation method is that, with little or no prompting from the interviewer, the explanations are from the native speaker's perspective – and largely in their own words – on what they view as important. The disadvantage is that the dataset lacks the more complicated (but often relatively artificial) follow-on sentences common in semantic studies. However these would have been inappropriate (and perhaps counterproductive) because the vast majority of participants could not be led in this way.

'Pragmatic' explanations by meaning type

This compilation comprises the examples relevant to the pragmatics for the 132 minimal pairs of FS/SCI questions (89 y/n-Qs, 43 are wh-Qs), collected 2017-2024. A separate appendix of all examples ('pragmatic' and 'semantic') will be provided as a separate document, sorted by informant.

Informants who provided these explanations

[Informants who provided over 10 examples are highlighted.]

Inf Num	Community	Num Exs	*ha/fa*	M/F	Birth	Brief biography
	Zn.1: L. Oglio					
32.	Esine	1	*fa*	M	1980s	although much younger and educated to Masters, dialect always spoken at home and very close to grandparents (son of 33.Berzo)
36.	Esine	28	*fa*	M	1953	retired librarian and language teacher
154.	Esine	4	*fa*	M	1970s	printer, although relatively young always kept company of older people
	Zn.2: L. Ogl.-Grigna					
33.	Berzo	3	*ha*	M	1952	former manual worker, later local government official, left school in late teens. moved to (nearby) Esine at age 26.
70.	Cividate	6	*ha*	M	1950s	businessman with strong interest in local history and dialect
78.	Malegno	2	*fa/ha*	M	1945	former quarry worker who left school in early teens
80.	Malegno	2	*ha*	M	1933	former agricultural worker, later office worker and businessman, wide network of local contacts
	Zn.3: Grigna					
50.	Bienno	13	*ha*	F	1943	retired schoolteacher, always spoke dialect at home, moved to (nearby) Berzo after marriage.
55.	Bienno	1	*ha*	M	1954	retired postal worker with strong interest in dialects. reportedly speaks very old-fashioned dialect.
155.	Bienno	2	*ha*	M	1965?	man at presentation. details unknown.
	Zn.4: L-M Oglio-Grigna					
54.	Astrio di Breno	2	*fa*	F	1947	retired teacher. involved in organisation that runs dialect plays
	Zn.3: Middle Oglio-Allione					
145.	Cerveno	1	*fa*	M	1973	mountain guide for tourists, and works at animal rescue centre
86.	Sellero	0	*fa*	M	1957	retired teacher. writes dialect poems.
61.	Paisco	1	*fa*	F	1960	housewife. moved to Berzo (Demo) on marriage.

	Zn.4: Upper Oglio					
39.	Malonno	2	*fa*	M	1944	now runs an NGO in Tanzania. seems highly educated.
	Zn.5: Upper Oglio					
67.	Monno	0	*fa*	F	1943	retired school teacher (and daughter of informant for B&P)
	Zn.3: Ogliolo					
87.	Megno di Corteno	2	*fa*	F	1962	cook
158.	Megno di Corteno	1	*fa*	F	1958	housewife

Examples that demonstrate the expressive and social meaning

To avoid repetition, examples are usually listed only under the category they best exemplify.

They are sorted using the same headings as in the paper.

4. Expressive and social meanings of Camuno FS
   - 4.1 Demonstrating prior thought (conventional presuppositions due to the structure)
     - 4.1.1 Considering the consequences of the answer
     - 4.1.2 Showing more interest in the topic than obtaining a factual answer
   - 4.2 Expressing emotion and engaging the interlocutor (conventional implicatures or conventional presuppositions due to fa)
     - 4.2.1 Expressing emotional stance (subjectivity)
     - 4.2.2 Empathizing with addressee
     - 4.2.3 Starting (or continuing) a conversation
     - 4.2.4 Seeking the addressee's opinion
     - 4.2.5 Talking to the person directly affected
   - 4.3 Indirectness for reasons of politeness (conversational implicatures)
     - 4.3.1 Being non-confrontational
     - 4.3.2 Making indirect references
     - 4.3.3 Being courteous but not presumptuous

Each example is in the following format:

- Section header as above (number of y/n-Q and wh-Q examples)
- For those sections which are sorted by informants (and informants who supplied most responses at the end), a header with informant number (number of examples).
- Infinitival verb name in Italian (number of question in database). Informant number and community.
- (English translation of context, originally presented to informant in Italian)
- English translation of question, originally given to informant in Italian
- SCI / FS Camuno question variants
- SCI: Informant explanation [any author interpretation]
- FS: Informant explanation [any author interpretation: note, the paper is more extensive in this regard]

4. Expressive and social meanings of Camuno FS

4.1 Demonstrating prior thought (conventional presuppositions due to the structure)

4.1.1 Considering the consequences of the answer (4 y/n, 1 wh)

congelare (2211) 36.Esine

Does this beautiful lake freeze in winter?

SCI: Chehto bel laghet zèlel ‘nn inverno?/ FS: Chehto bel laghet fal zelà ann inverno?

SCI: Neutral question, asked out of curiousity.

FS: The person asking the question is expressing: 1) **the hope** that it freezes so as to be able to skate on it or 2) **the fear** that it freezes (because the ducks can't swim in it or because it won't be possible to fish. Either way the questioner is expressing something connected to the emotions.

[used in text]

crescere (2019) 36.Esine

Do wines grow well where you live?

SCI: ’Ègne-l hó bé ’l vidùr hó/fò de ’otre? / FS: Fa-l gnì-ho bé ’l vidùr hó/fò de ’otre?

SCI: Neutral question for informational purposes.

FS: The question has been asked to enable the speaker to decide well, if the answer is yes, then I'll do this, if no, I'll do that...

rompersi (2026) 36.Esine

(That chair seems a bit fragile to me.)

If I sit on it, will it break, in your opinion?

SCI: Hè me he hènte-dó, he romperà-la, hegónt-té? / FS: Hè me he hènte-dó, farà-la rumpìh, hegónt-té?

SCI: The question is asking about a possibility as regards the chair. The question is objective.

FS: The question is being asked because of the consequences for the speaker. The focus of the question is different. The question is subjective.

durare (2049) 36.Esine

Does the appointment last one hour or two?

SCI: L’apuntamènto dürel ann’ura o dói? / FS: L’apuntamènto fal durà ann’ura o dói?

SCI: Direct question.

FS: From the reply, I will choose what to do.

finire (2861) 36.Esine

It's obvious that the film on RAI 1 won't last all evening but they don't know if it will finish before they appointment that they have with the neighbours. Francesca has heard (maybe from her mother) that it finishes at 8, but it's already quarter to 8 and it seems as if the plot isn't about to reach its conclusion. Francesca asks Enrico:

The film on RAI 1, when does it finish?

SCI: Al film ho RAI 1, (quando) finìhe-l quando? / FS: Al film ho Rai 1, (quando) fà-l finì quando?

SCI: This is a real wh-Q. Francesca doesn't know (despite what her mother has said) when the film finishes. She wants to know because she wants to know if she'll manage to see the entire film, or to begin to think what to do in case it finishes after 8. On the basis of the reply, Francesca will organize herself. With wh-PV the Q is centered on the time in connection with the verb. With wh-front, the Q is on the wh-item itself rather than in conjunction with the verb.

FS: This directs attention to the moment the film finishes and on the basis of this fact Francesca will decide what to do. Francesca has already imagined the film finishing and is evaluating the consequences: if it finishes before 8, no problem; if it's after 8 then she's already thinking about what to do.

4.1.2 Showing more interest in the topic than obtaining a factual answer (3 y/n)

cominciare (892) 50.Bienno

Does the match begin at 1?

SCI: La partida cumìncela am bot? / FS: Hela cumincia am bot?

SCI: Curiosity. Speaker is looking at the tv programme times.

FS: Tell me so that I can turn on the tv. I'd like to see the game.

riempire (2013) 36.Esine

Is the rain filling the lake?

SCI: Ampinihe-l al laghèt l'àiva? / FS: Fa-la 'mpinì 'l laghèt l'àiva?

SCI: There is less worry. This is a simple request for information with a positive attitude of: it's nice to see the lake full of water.

FS: In comparison the questionner is more interested in the topic; if the water fills the lake it might flood and cause damage.

scrivere (3216) 154.Esine

(You see me at home, sitting at a table with pen and paper, writing a letter.)

Who are you writing to?

SCI: Hcrìet a chi? / Fe=t hcrìer a chi?

SCI: If I know that you write letters and **I want to know who you are writing to**. [You're writing TO WHOM? Hcriet [a chi]. Writing is the premise of the question.]

FS: If I hardly ever see you I am **expressing surprise at the idea that you are writing** a letter. [You're WRITING to someone!? Fe [t scrìer a chi]. The focus follows the finite verb. I accept that you are writing and this is a surprise.][used in text]

4.2 Expressing emotion and engaging the interlocutor (conventional implicatures or conventional presuppositions due to fa)

4.2.1 Expressing emotional stance (subjectivity) (16 y/n, 3 wh)

154.Malegno (1)

andare (3210) 154.Malegno

You see your friend Maria. She is opening the car door.

Where are you going?

SCI: Net andòe? / FS: Fet na ndòe?

SCI: If I want to know where you're going just because I want to know if you're going to one place, or to another.

FS: If I was talking to you and suddenly you stop the conversation and leave in a hurry. [I'm expressing frustration 'what on earth are you doing (by leaving so abruptly'? I'm commenting on the fact that you are going somewhere.]

[used in text]

78. Malegno (1)

maturare (2016) 78.Malegno

Tell me: Do tomatoes ripen without the sun?

SCI: I pomodòr morüdei henha al hol? / FS: I pomodòr fai marudà henha al hol?

SCI: Neutral question.

FS: Shows anxiety or exasperation because speaker thinks it's a stupid question. [Informant had to be asked for FS.]

[used in text]

80. Malegno (1)

sapere DP (1112) 80.Malegno

(And you? Are you well educated like your mother?)

Do you know many things?

SCI: Het tante robe té? / FS: Het haì tante robe té?

SCI: Yes/no reply expected.

FS: You don't know. There's a doubt. It's causing problems.

54. Astrio (1)

riuscire a (869) 54.Astrio

(Anna has many ways for dealing with problem children.)

Will Anna succeed in teaching even my children to read?

SCI: Ghe rüela a fa di-ho i miei pì, Anna? / FS: Fala rüagà a fa di-ho i miei pì, Anna?

SCI: Without presuppositions.

FS: Calls into question the premise that she is capable.

[used in text]

55. Bienno (1)

cominciare a (nat) (893) 55.Bienno

Do you begin preparing supper only after 8 o'clock?

SCI: Cominciate a fà-ha la hena dopo le ot? / FS: Fet cominciàte a fà-ha la hena dopo le ot?

SCI: Surprise

FS: Ok, but it's important we know this.

70. Cividate (2)

credere in (1031) 70.Cividate

Does the little girl believe in Santa Lucia?

SCI: La pina crèdela amò hanta Luhia? / FS: Hala cridì amò hanta Luhia?

SCI: It's possible that the girl does still believe in Santa Lucia.

FS: The questionner thinks the girl probably doesn't believe any more in Santa Lucia but for the sake of the girl, he'd like to think the girl still did believe in her existence.

[used in text]

piovere (474) 70.Cividate

Does it always rain on Sunday?

SCI: Piöl hemper la domenica? / FS: Hal piüé hemper la domenica ché?

SCI: Soft question just asking for yes/no answer.

FS: Provocational and aggressive. There's something behind the question and you're trying to get at.

50. Bienno (4)

pensare DP (1035) 50.Bienno

(Why don't they want to spend time with us?)

What do they think (of us)?

SCI: Pènhalei ché de notre? / FS: eh ma...Heli penhà ché de notre?

SCI: I can't understand their reaction and really don't know what they are thinking (about us).

FS: I am annoyed. [I don't really want an answer.]

volere bene (1109) 50.Bienno

(She leaves that poor animal at home all day!)

Does Valentina love [lit. want well] her dog?

SCI: Valentina, ghe ölela bé a so ca? / FS: #Hela olega bé a so ca?

SCI: Spontaneous question

FS: What an attitude! (Unsuitable given the context.)

fumare (3208) 50.Bienno

We know that Béta used to smoke a lot and the doctor had told her to stop. You meet a friend and you start chatting. You want to know if she followed the doctor's advice.

Is Béta still smoking?

SCI: Fümela amò, Beta? / FS: Hela fümà amò, Beta?

SCI: Normal question

FS: Could be expressing curiosity or reprimanding.

[used in text]

fare (caus) (614) 50.Bienno

(Paola is always late.)

Does Paola always make her boyfriend wait?

SCI: Fala hemper spetà ‘l muru? / FS: Paola, hela hemper fa spetà ‘l muru?

SCI: Oh dear. What an irritating person.

FS: She's always behind! She makes even him wait.

36. Esine (8)

sembrare (2030) 36.Esine

(Their aunt died recently and today is the village festival.)

Does(n't) it seem right to you too, to stay at home?

SCI: Te homèel giüht anche a te de htà a ca? / FS: #Fal homeàt giüht anche a te de htà a ca?

SCI: The only appropriate way to make this question.

FS: The question with *fare* seems artificial, insistent, and to be avoided because it **presupposes an attitude** (such as exaggerated concern or excessive tact) which isn't appropriate in the situation.

[used in text]

mangiare (2860) 36.Esine

Each Saturday you take Maria to the restaurant. She always has a good appetite. The waitress arrives to takes the order then she goes back into the kitchen and talks to the owner. Meanwhile Maria goes to the bathroom. The owner comes back to talk and begins...Well then:

What will Maria eat this evening?

SCI: (Chè) mangerà-la chè htahéra, Marìa? / FS: Farà-la mangià chè htahéra Maria?

SCI: The question is neutral and all the possibilities are open. The owner wants to know what Maria has selected, or might select from the menu. (With cosa 'what' at the beginning, this really gives the idea that it is at that moment that the choice is made from the menu.

FS: This seems to be looking into the mind of the owner, who already knows what Maria is going to eat, and expects a confirmation of his supposition. (The owner is thinking of Maria and her situation because he knows that the choice is already limited and so he might have to make a few adaptations.)

girare (2020) 36.Esine

(The teacher asks the student:)

Does the earth go around the sun in a year or in a month?

SCI: La tèra gìre-la 'ntùren al hul an de 'nn an o 'n de 'n méh? / FS: La tèra fà-la girà 'ntùren al hul an de 'nn an o 'n de 'n méh?

SCI: Simple curiosity.

FS: As if to say that the answer is very important to the questionner: if it's in a year that's one thing; if it's a month, that's something else.

[used in text]

morire (2035) 36.Esine

(The dog is on its last legs. How sad for the family!)

Will it die soon?

SCI: Murirà-l de ché a mia tat? / FS: Farà-l murì de ché a mia tat?

SCI: Simple request for information

FS: Also expresses worry for its death or for the pain of losing it. There are consequences for the speaker.

[used in text]

correre (2027) 36.Esine

(Marco is not very fit.)

Will he run just for 10 minutes or for a whole hour?

SCI: Curerà-l hulche per déh minùcc o per ann'ura 'ntréga? / FS: Farà-l curì hulche per déh minùcc o per ann'ura 'ntréga?

SCI: Neutral question

FS: Speaker emotional involvement indicated.

piacere (2037) 36.Esine

Would your mother like to eat with us this evening?

SCI: Ala to mare ghe piaderehel mangià con nòtre hta hera? / FS: Faréhel piadìga a la to mare mangià con nòtre hta hera?

SCI: Neutral invitation because I'm only asking if it will please her.

FS: I am concerned for your mother's well-being and we'd both be pleased if she'd come.

stare (2056) 36.Esine

(She spent a year in a wheel chair but they say that recently she's recovered. You say: Really!)

Is she standing up now?

SCI: Htàla 'mpeh adeh? / FS: Fala htà 'mpeh adeh?

SCI: Neutral question

FS: Emotional involvement in the girl's situation and surprise at her recovery.

[used in text]

morire (2014) 36.Esine

Do geraniums die in winter?

SCI: Möre-i i geràni ann invèrno? / FS: Fà-i murì i geràni ann invèrno?

SCI/QDec: Neutral question asked for informational purposes.

FS: Slight empathy. Almost distaste at the question because it indicates suspicion that the geraniums die. It's suggesting that you wish there was something that could be done to prevent this.

4.2.2 Empathizing with addressee (1 y/n, 7 wh)

36. Esine (8)

andare (2647) 36.Esine

How are you going to Milan?

SCI: Né-t cóme a Milà? / FS: Fé-t nà come a Milà?

SCI: Q is very direct and putting B 'on the spot' because B probably hasn't thought it through. A might also be making fun on B: Are you actually going to Milan (and if so, how?)

FS: A demonstrates empathy towards B and a willingness to help with a solution. It could be rhetorical in the sense that B doesn't have an answer. A is already aware of the difficulty B faces. Also could be interpreted as: Are you actually going to Milan (and if so, how?)

[used in text]

pesare (2851) 36.Esine

(Roberto is almost wet with sweat!)

How much does that suitcase weigh?

SCI: Pède-la quat chèla 'alìh? / FS: Fà-la pedà quat chèla 'alìh?

SCI: A is expressing reaction to B (Roberto) sweating so much and is being confrontational. There is a presupposition that the suitcase does not weigh much. It's a rhetorical Q because A doesn't really want to know 'how much' the suitcase weighs.

FS: A has no idea of the answer but is showing empathy towards B (Roberto) and his sweating because A wants to help.]

puzzare (2854) 36.Esine

It's fairly obvious that the coat smells. A asks B:

What does my coat smell of?

SCI: Hpùhe-l de chè 'l mé paltò? / FS: Fà-l hpühà de chè 'l mé paltò

SCI: A thinks that the coat doesn't smell so it's really not necessary to specify of what it smells.

FS: A is asking the question for an empathic confirmation by B that the coat still smells (of smoke).

scadere (2855) 36.Esine

All passports expire, but some last 5 years, some 10, or even 30...This couple are going to America on holiday this summer. The husband asks the wife:

When does your passport expire?

SCI: Hcàde-l quando ’l tò pàha-pórt? / FS: Fà-l hcadì quando ’l tò pàha-pórt?

SCI: It sounds as if the husband is scolding the wife for not having checked before.

FS: A&B have been working collaboratively checking everying. A wants to know about his wife’s passport so that they can avoid and resolve any potential burocratic problems.

finire (2857) 36.Esine

It's obvious that the film on RAI 1 won't last all evening but they don't know whether it will finish before the appointment with the neighbours. A asks B:

The film on RAI 1, when does it finish?

SCI: Al film ho RAI 1, finìhe-l quando? / FS: Al film ho Rai 1, fà-l finì quando?

SCI: A is impatient and is scolding B for having made a mistake with the film times. For A, it is B’s fault that they will make a bad impression with the neighbours. (The focus of both Qs is on the verb, not the precise time.)

FS: A respects B’s wish to see the film to the end. A is asking to see if there is anything that can be done to save some time (such as any necessary chores) and still make it to the neighhours’ on time. (The focus of both Qs is on the verb, not the precise time.)

arrivare (3212) 36.Esine

I know that your car is being fixed and that you have to go to Edolo.

How are you getting to Edolo?

SCI: Rüet come ad Edol? / FS: Fet rüà come ad Edol?

SCI: There is a slight reprimand here because your car is broken - so how [do you think] you're getting to Edolo!? [You don't think there is a solution for wh]

FS: There is more empathy and a wish to help because your car is broken. There is a different kind of interaction with the questioner. [There are presuppositions behind 'how' - there is a solution.]

andare (2853) 36.Esine

A knows that B will go to Milan somehow or other. A asks B:

How are you going to Milan?

SCI: Né-t cóme a Milà? / FS: Fé-t nà come a Milà?

SCI: A knows that B doesn’t have a way to get to Milan and so he’s asking the question somewhat perplexed because he has a presupposition that it isn’t possible.

FS: The question isn't really about learning how B will get to Milan but if A's help would be required. It doesn't really need an informational reply.

pesare (2029) 36.Esine

(Roberto is almost wet with sweat!)

Does that suitcase weigh a lot?

SCI: Pède-le trop tant chèle 'alìh? / FS: Fa-le pedà trop tant chèle 'alìh?

SCI: Indifference, and not an invitation to help.

FS: Implies a willingness to help.

[used in text]

4.2.3 Starting (or continuing) a conversation (9 y/n, 5 wh)

154. Malegno (1)

mangiare (3213) 154.Malegno

You meet me in the restaurant eating an strange-looking dish.

What are you eating?

SCI: Manget ché? / FS: Fet mangià ché?

SCI: [Not in this context] If no food had been brought. [so 'ché' means nothing and doesn't necessarily have a reference]

FS: He would use this one given this context. He is expressing surprise at the strange food and wants to know more [and engage in a longer discussion]. [He's interested in the identity of 'ché.]

[used in text]

155. Bienno (1)

andare (3211) 155.Bienno

You see your friend Maria. She is opening the car door. She has a coat and bag and obviously is just leaving.

Where are you going?

SCI: Net andòe? / FS: Fet na ndòe?

SCI: Not applicable in this situation

FS: Probably for conversational reasons.

32. Esine (1)

fumare (3208) 32.Esine

We know that Béta used to smoke a lot and the doctor had told her to stop. You meet a friend and you start chatting. You want to know if she followed the doctor's advice.

Is Béta still smoking?

SCI: Fümela amò, Beta? / FS: Fala fümà amò, Beta?

SCI: Normal question

FS: If I haven't seen her for 20 years and a lot has happened.

80. Malegno (1)

piovere (474) 80.Malegno

Does it always rain on Sunday?

SCI: Piöel hemper la domenica? / FS: Hal piöé hemper la domenica?

SCI: Yes/no answer expected.

FS: Invites a conversation.

70. Cividate (2)

andare (1122) 70.Cividate

(What a beautiful city!)

Do you often go to Milan?

SCI: Net hpeh a Milà? / FS: Het nà de hpeh a Milà?

SCI: I don't want to continue this subject. I just want to know the answer. There is no presupposition.

FS: We are continuing the subject of Milan.

fare (main) (597) 70.Cividate

Do you usually do the shopping on Saturday?

SCI: Fet la spesa al habet? / FS: Het fa la spesa al habet?

SCI: Direct Q. Just wants a brief answer. Only need confirmation.

FS: The start of a conversation. Curiosity and surprise has been induced.

[used in text]

36. Esine (3)

costare (2839) 36.Esine

(In the shop:)

How much does this nice fish cost?

SCI: Cóhte-l quat chèhto bèl pèh? / FS: Fà-l cohtà quat chèhto bèl pèh?

SCI: A is interested in the answer and will take action accordingly. A is after a bargin.

FS: As the Q is paying B a compliment on the fish (and it's possible the shopkeeper will give A a discount). A is asking to see if they have money to buy it or need to go for something more economical and of lower quality. The Q demonstrates mutual respect.

mettere (2850) 36.Esine

(You are a guest in the house of someone who's away on holiday. You ask yourself:)

Where do they hide the salt in this house?

SCI: L'à-i hcundìda 'n dóe la hal an chèla ca ché? / FS: Fà-i hcundì-la 'n dóe la hal an chèla ca ché?

SCI: A is irritated (particularly towards the house owner) because they cannot find the salt. A is asking the question to themselves but is really looking for an excuse to blame the house owner.

FS: A knows it isn't their own house and they should have asked the owner before, or should call them now. A is just thinking what best to do but not judging anyone.

parlare (2849) 36.Esine

(You are in a town hall meeting. You are in charge. You ask:)

Who is speaking?

SCI: Parle-l chi? / FS: Fà-l parlà chi?

SCI: A wants to know 'who' because it makes a difference to A's evaluation of what B says. A is being slightly confrontational because of the consequences of the reply

FS: A wants to know 'who' and is grateful to B for supplying this information and for the sacrifices B might have made to present at the meeting. However A will also adjust their attitude to the information B supplies according to the answer.

<u>50. Bienno (5)</u>

fumare (875) 50.Bienno

Do you smoke cigars?

SCI: Fümet i tohcani? / FS: Hét fümà i tohcani?

SCI: More direct

FS: An invitation to talk. Relaxed.

fumare (876) 50.Bienno

Does Elisabeta still smoke?

SCI: Fümela amò Beta? / FS: #Hela füma amò Beta?

SCI: Spontaneous question.

FS: A bit more relaxed. Needs a context, such as we've been speaking about this that and the other...

credere che (1032) 50.Bienno

(Why is Anna so afraid of sleeping here?)

Does she think that there is a ghost in the house?

SCI: Pènhela chel ghe haeha an fantasma an ca? / FS: Hela penhà chel ghe haeha an fantasma an ca?

SCI: Spontaneous, expressing astonishment.

FS: Easy-going conversation.

[used in text]

fumare (3220) 50.Bienno

We know that Béta used to smoke a lot and the doctor had told her to stop. You meet a friend and you start chatting. You want to know if she followed the doctor's advice. You think that you've just seen her on the corner with a cigarette.

Is Béta still smoking?

SCI: Fümela amò, Beta? / FS: Hela fümà amò, Beta?

SCI: I'm astonished. It's a rhetorical question. [So, she still smokes...]

FS: Curious question

piovere (474) 50.Bienno

Does it always rain on Sunday?

SCI: Piöel hemper la dumenica? / FS: Hel hemper pioé la dumenica?

SCI: Relaxed question.

FS: A little annoyed at this. Someone might reply and start a conversation.

4.2.4 Seeking the addressee's opinion (6 y/n, 1 wh)

(Similarity in responses for same question by different informants)

Q. 2022

costare (2022) 33.Berzo

(In the shop:)

Is this nice fish expensive?

SCI: Cohtel tant chel peh ché bel? / FS: Haral cohtà tant chel peh ché bel?
SCI: Said to the shopkeeper.
FS: Said to someone other than the shopkeeper, who can't answer the question.

costare (2022) 36.Esine
(In the shop:)
Is this nice fish expensive?
SCI: Cohte-l tant chèl bel pèh ché / FS: Fal cohtà tant chèl bel pèh ché
SCI: Neutral question
FS: Be careful. I don't have much money.

costare (2022) 50.Bienno
(In the shop:)
Is this nice fish expensive?
SCI: Costel tàant chèl bèl péh ché? / FS: Hèl cohtà tàant chèl bèl péh ché?
SCI: With the shopkeeper. I want to know right now.
FS: To my husband. We're not sure about it.
[used in text]

pesare (2029) 33.Berzo
(Roberto is almost wet with sweat!)
Does that suitcase weigh a lot?
SCI: Pedela trop chel alì lé? / FS: Hala pedà trop chel alì lé?
SCI: Said to someone else.
FS: Said to the person carrying the suitcase.

puzzare (2009) 33.Berzo
Does my coat smell of smoke?
SCI: Pühel di fümo ‘l me paltó? / FS: Hal pühà di fümo ‘l me paltó?
SCI: Asking someone else [for information].
FS: Not sure if it smells. Could be asked to self.
[used in text]

puzzare (2836) 36.Esine

What does my coat smell of?

SCI: Hpùhe-l pò de chè 'l mé paltò? / FS: Fà-l pò hpühà de chè 'l mé paltò?

SCI: A is asking B for information and will act on it. Could be interpreted as: Does it smell of something, and if so, of what?

FS: A is asking for B's opinion and advice. Q is: What does it smell of?

potere (pos) (2384) 39.Malonno

(The arm is very swollen. Ask the doctor if it could be broken.)

SCI: Pödel eser ròt? / FS: Fal podé eser ròt?

SCI: Normal question.

FS: Said to the doctor [because you want an authorative answer of whether or not it could be true that it's broken.]

[used in text]

4.3 Indirectness for reasons of politeness (conversational implicatures)

4.3.1 Being non-confrontational (5 y/n, 3 wh)

50. Bienno (1)

fare (caus) (786) 50.Bienno

Do they often make you sing in church?

SCI: Te fai cantà de hpeh an ciesa? / FS: Hei fat cantà de hpeh an ciesa?

SCI: They couldn't find anyone else? They really had to come after you?

FS: More easy-going question.

[used in text]

78. Malegno (1)

potere (perm) (865) 78.Malegno

(It's time to eat but the boys are smoking next to the table. Ask their mother:)

Could the boys smoke somewhere else?

SCI: Pödei nà a fumà an de nòtra banda, i pì? / FS: Fai podì nà a fumà an de nòtra banda, i pì?

SCI: Direct (in comparison)

FS: Kinder. [Informant was asked for the FS option]

54. Astrio (1)

potere (req) (866) 54.Astrio

(They are smoking next to the table. Ask their mother:)

Could you get them to move, Signora?

SCI: Pödela fai nà de-fo a fumà? / FS: Fala pödé fai nà de-fo a fumà?

SCI: More direct.

FS: Gentler.

[used in text]

70. Cividate (1)

credere che (1032) 70.Cividate

(Why is Anna so afraid of sleeping here?)

Does she think that there is a ghost in the house?

SCI: Penhet che ghe haé n fantasma n ca? / FS: Het penhà che ghe haé n fantasma n ca?

SCI: Aggressive and direct. Shows willingness to help and to rid her of her fear.

FS: Less aggressive.

36. Esine (4)

crescere (2837) 36.Esine

How do the vines grow where you live?

SCI: ’ègne-la-hó come la ’it hó/fò/dó de ’ótre ? / FS: Fà-la ’gnì-hó come la ’it hó/fò/dó de ’ótre ?

SCI: Q is aggressive, competitive. A imagines a possible answer. A is asking the Q for his own benefit.

FS: A asks the Q in order to be helpful to B, depending on the answer to ‘how’.

succedere (1129) 36.Esine

(You hear and noise and wonder: Has there been a goal?)

What's happening?

SCI: Che hücédel? / Hücédel che? / FS: Chè fà-l hücidì chè /chè hücéde-l ché / fà-l hücidì chè?

SCI: The person asking the question already knows exactly what is going on (and knows that it shouldn’t be!)]

FS: The person asking the question doesn’t know what is going on, has several possibilities in mind, but is not thinking of one in particular.]

pensare DP (1035) 36.Esine

(Why don't they want to spend time with us?)

What do they think (of us)?

SCI: Pènhe-i/le chè de nótre? / FS: Fà-i/le penhà chè de nótre?

SCI: Conveys worry about what others might think because they think it's probably negative are aware of the consequences of the negative opinion. They are asking for confirmation.

FS: Neutral question, asking out of interest to know what others really think of them. Questionner is gathering information so as to decide what to do.

puzzare (2009) 36.Esine

Does my coat smell of smoke?

SCI: Hpühe-l de füm al mé paltò ? / FS: Fa-l hpühà de füm al mé paltò?

SCI: More direct and almost worried.

FS: This leaves you feeling that it's possible it doesn't smell, perhaps, for example, because it's been left on the balcony to air.

4.3.2 Making indirect references (2 wh)

mangiare (3209) 155.Bienno

You meet your neighbour Alberto in the supermarket. His wife has just died. You want to be sure he's ok.

What are you eating for dinner?

SCI: Mangiet che da hena? / FS: Fet mangia che da hena

SCI: You're being specific. [You want to know what.]

FS: You're getting at the subject in a roundabout way.

[used in text]

ascoltare (3214) 87.Megno

You see me on a bench in a park wearing headphones.

What are you listening to?

SCI: Ché hcultet? / FS: Ché fet hcultà?

SCI: What are you listening to at that moment. [Resolution of wh]

FS: I want to know the type of music that you like, e.g. classical music. I'm asking this out of curiosity. [pragmatic reasons]

4.3.3 Being courteous but not presumptuous (3 y/n, 2 wh)

potere (abil) (868) 50.Bienno

(You've invited your neighbour to lunch on Sunday but she hasn't replied yet. Ask her:)
Could you let me know tomorrow?
SCI: Pödet/podeh famol haè domà? / FS: Het/Héh podé fàmol haé domà?
SCI: Direct
FS: More relaxed. Asking 'ti prego di X', or please would you let me know tomorrow.
[used in text]

mancare a (2005) 70.Cividate
(Now they work in Swizerland...)
Does Teresa miss her children?
SCI: Ghe manchei i ho fiöi a Teresa? / FS: Hai mancaga i ho fiöi a Teresa?
SCI: If you know the addressee well.
FS: If you don't know the addressee particularly well this longer form is better.
[used in text]

andare (3215) 87.Megno
You meet me in the street.
Where are you going?
SCI: ‘nde ndet? / FS: ‘ndé fet andà?
SCI: This is a more intimate question. You know this person better.
FS: It's as if you are using 'Lei', with a certain distance. It's a politer form.
[used in text]

andare (3215) 154.Malegno
You meet me in the street.
Where are you going?
SCI: Net ‘ndóe? / FS: Fet nà andóe?
SCI: If you are from my family.
FS: If you’re not from my family, I can’t guess at the answer but I want to understand.
[used in text]

piacere (3217) 154.Malegno
We want to celebrate.
Do you like Prosecco?

SCI: Te piàdele ‘l prosec? / FS: Fal piadìt ‘l prosec?

SCI: I’m sure that you like it [so I can use this blunt form]. [In-family. I know you so I know the answer.]

FS: Someone you’ve just met so I don’t know if they like prosecco or not. It’s almost a polite form. It leaves them the possibility of saying that they really don’t like prosecco at all. [Polite. I don't know but I could make an educated guess.]

[used in text]